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Bandung 1955

Bandung:

an on-the-spot
description of the

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Bandung, Indonesia

April, 1955

by Homer A. Jack

A

Toward Freedom

Pamphlet 35c

To the Reader—

Here is a comprehensive account of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia.

It has been one of the most important international meetings in recent years. Dr. Homer A. Jack is a competent reporter and his description of the Conference and its results should receive widespread circulation in the United States.


We hope you will read his report—and pass it on to your friends.

Signed

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THE BACKGROUND

In April, 1954, the prime ministers of five Asian countries met in Colombo, Ceylon. Together were U Nu of Burma, Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia, and Mohammed Ali of Pakistan. At this meeting of the Colombo powers, as they are called, important recommendations were made to the Geneva Conference on Indochina which helped solve this conflict. Also at this meeting Dr. Sastroamidjojo proposed that the five foreign ministers sponsor a larger conference of Afro-Asian nations. He was given the opportunity of exploring the possibilities.

The five prime ministers reconvened in Bogor, Indonesia, on December 28-29, 1954. In the meantime, Mr. U Nu and Mr. Nehru had visited China. At Bogor Mr. U Nu told his fellow prime ministers that "we want peace more than any other thing." Sir John said that "I do not think any of us claim the right to speak for Asia, but until such time as Asia can speak for herself, I think we have a duty to see that our views on Asian affairs do not go unheeded." He added, "We should strive to usher in a new era in Asian relations, by discarding the harsh word for the gentle one, by replacing suspicion and misunderstanding with trust and confidence." Mr. Nehru declared that "the old balances are no longer there" and they must "place Asia and Africa in proper perspective in the world because the old perspectives no longer apply." Dr. Sastroamidjojo reported that, from his explorations with seventeen Asian and African countries, "their response to our idea of holding an Afro-Asian conference has been most favorable."

Accordingly, the five prime ministers agreed that an Asian-African Conference be held under their joint sponsorship in In-

onesia during April 1955. The purposes of the Conference were specifically spelled out:

- (a) *to promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighborly relations;*
- (b) *to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;*
- (c) *to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g., problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;*
- (d) *to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.*

A Conference Secretariat, representing the five initiating countries, was set up in Indonesia. It was hoped that representation at the Conference would be on a ministerial level. The Conference would determine its own procedure and agenda.

The sponsoring prime ministers further agreed that the Conference should have a broad geographic basis and that "all countries in Asia and Africa, which have independent governments, should be invited." However, "minor variations and modifications of this basic principle" were made and the invitations were limited to 25 specific countries as follows: Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central African Federation, China (not Formosa), Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Viet-nam (North), Viet-nam (South), and Yemen.

It was further stated that "acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve or even imply any change in its view of the status of any other country" and the prime ministers also emphasized that "the form of government and the way of life of any one country should in no way be subject to interference by another." There were certain striking omissions from the list of countries invited: North Korea, South Korea, Nationalist China on Taiwan (Formosa), Australia, New Zealand, Russia (which is at least in part in Asia), Israel, and

the Union of South Africa. While the basis for some of these omissions was politically obvious, there were never any official reasons given.

Immediately upon the issue of a call to this conference, speculation was rife on a gathering the like of which has never been seen on the earth before. What were the real motives for such a conference? Was its aim to form a third power bloc? (The official Bogor communique expressly stated that the five prime ministers "do not desire that the participating countries should build themselves into a regional bloc"). Would the "committed" countries (those in NATO like Turkey or in SEATO like Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines) attend? What would be the attitude of the U. S. and of the U.S.S.R.?

The initial response to the Conference was heartening to its sponsors. In the end, all countries invited agreed to attend, with the one exception of Central African Federation. The response to the Conference from the United States was mixed. There were persistent reports that the U. S. Department of State initially disapproved the Conference and even tried to persuade its NATO and SEATO allies in Asia to decline the invitation. This was not possible, and so the SEATO countries, meeting early in 1955 in Bangkok, sent this greeting to the Asian-African Conference: "The Council (Manila Pact Council) noted that Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand might shortly be meeting with other Asian countries on matters of common concern. The Council accordingly asked these Asian members of the Council to transmit cordial greetings to the other free countries and to express the hope that out of their conference at Bandung would come increased assurance that the free nations would remain free and that all peoples would come increasingly to enjoy in peace the blessings of liberty. The Council also invited a broad sharing of their dedication expressed in the Pacific Charter to uphold the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples and to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities."

On the eve of the Conference, the press officer of the U. S. Department of State restated the position of his government toward the Bandung Conference: "It is hardly necessary to restate

the deep sympathetic interest of the United States in all efforts of the peoples of Asia and Africa to achieve material and spiritual well-being and the other blessings of liberty. We will always remain prepared to share with them the common responsibility for preserving the conditions essential to the attainment of these objectives." And then was repeated the resolution of the SEATO Council meeting in Bangkok. However, President Eisenhower sent no generous greetings as did the Prime Minister of Canada thus: "On the occasion of the convening of the Asian-African Conference I would like to convey through you the good wishes of the people and government of Canada for the success of the Conference. I hope that the Conference will contribute to the welfare of the people of Asia and Africa and promote the settlement by peaceful means of all disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

International interest and maneuvering reached great heights in the weeks immediately before the Conference was due to convene. Excitement was high in many Asian and African countries as large delegations were selected and briefed. Just a week before the Conference opened, a chartered Air India plane, "The Kashmir Princess," flying from Hong Kong to Indonesia with Chinese newspapermen, fell into the South China Sea. An international incident was created when the Chinese foreign ministry charged the crash resulted from a plot by Nationalist China and the United States to assassinate members of the Chinese delegation and to sabotage the whole Asian-African Conference.

BANDUNG

Bandung (pronounced Bond-oon) is a resort city in the mountains of Indonesia, 2,000 feet above sea level, and about 120 miles south of the capital city of Diarkarta (formerly Batavia). It contains almost a million inhabitants. When it was decided to make Bandung the site of the Conference, a heavy responsibility fell on the city and its inhabitants. The Dutch, among other things, had given the Indonesian people a tremendous inferiority complex—and thus some of the Indonesians themselves wondered whether they could arrange a conference of such huge proportions.

In less than four months Bandung was transformed from a sleepy city, which was formerly a resort for the wives and children

of Dutch colonials, into an efficient conference headquarters. Seventeen hotels and numerous small residences were requisitioned by the government and reconditioned. From Singapore were purchased 3,500 half woolen blankets (it can get chilly in Bandung despite its being only a few degrees south of the equator), 10,000 yards of lace curtain, 15,000 dinner sets, 600 plastic coat-hangers, 100,000 American and English cigarettes, and quantities of fruit juice, milk, and other foodstuffs normally in short supply. Special foods were imported, such as curries from Madras and nuts from Arabia. Hotels were given special instructions in preparing their menus and offered both European and Indonesian dishes, the latter including the famous *Rijstafel*.

New mercury-arc lamps were hung on the major highways. More than 200 vehicles, some pastel-green Chevrolets and Plymouths, were taken over by the government. Each delegation was furnished a number of autos, with military and motorcycle escort. Undesirables were rounded up and taken out of the city. Because the dreaded Darul Islam, a violent sect of Islamic extremists, frequented the mountains surrounding Bandung, the city was circled twice by soldiers and paratroopers. Members of the group threatened to enter the city during the Conference disguised as peasants and vegetable-sellers and there were public pleas for no disturbances during the Conference. There were none, as there were at the Bogota Pan-American Assembly several years ago.

In the city itself, the supply of electricity was increased, although telephone service to residents was greatly curtailed. Special wards were set aside in two hospitals for delegates. The old Dutch Club, Concordia—renamed Gedung Merdeka—was entirely rebuilt to house the plenary sessions and press facilities. Generally the city was scrubbed and painted. The prime minister of Indonesia came to Bandung repeatedly to inspect the facilities personally and to urge cleaning and repairing.

Ample press facilities were arranged, with special cable and radio-telephone links to almost forty countries. The office of the Ministry of Information of Indonesia published a daily Conference bulletin in English. In addition, the two Indonesian news agencies, Antara and PIA, published large mimeographed bulletins daily, also in English. Although it was rumored that there would be a paper shortage at Bandung, the quantity of

mimeographed documents was exceptional. Curiously, the official language of the Conference was English—a by-product of British colonialism in Asia and Africa. (In several of these countries today, English is officially the second language). During the plenary sessions, there were simultaneous translations into English and French and any delegation could have translations in any other language if it provided its own translator.

More than 2,000 delegates, journalists, and observers descended on Indonesia beginning the middle of April, most of them coming first to the Kemajoran Airport in Djakarta where they were greeted by protocol officers and the flags of the 29 participating nations (the U. N. flag was conspicuously absent throughout), and given almost immediate transportation to Bandung. No difficulties were experienced in Bandung and ample, often luxurious, facilities were provided for all. It was the consensus of delegates and journalists, many of whom were veterans at attending international conferences, that the facilities and hospitality at Bandung were superb.

Several large receptions were held, one by President and Mrs. Sukarno and Vice-President and Mrs. Hatta in the Governor's residence. Javanese and Balinese dances were given under the Banyan trees in the garden as *gamelan* and *angklung* orchestras played. The Chinese delegation gave a cocktail party to the press as Chinese wine, champagne, and communist postcards and books flowed freely. The Saudi Arabia delegation put on a sumptuous buffet in the Savoy-Homan Hotel, to which almost everybody was invited, and the table groaned with baked swan and other eastern delicacies. The five Colombo prime ministers gave a farewell reception on the last evening, with Nehru and Ali Sastroamidjojo hand-in-hand walking down the wet street toward the hotel to the cheers of the crowds.

The local Bandung residents made unusual arrangements to welcome delegates and guests. They attended special classes to learn English. Excursions were scheduled to the botanical gardens at Bogor, to the active volcano, Tangkuban, and to famed Bali, with university students who knew English as guides. Exhibits were held of Indonesian agricultural and industrial products, including handicrafts and arts. Several fashion shows, featuring both modern and traditional Indonesian dresses, were

held in this "Paris of Indonesia." Delegates promptly shopped for *batik* skirts, *kebaya* jackets and brightly-painted clogs (*kelomp geulis*) as prices went up 100 rupiahs along the Braga.

ATTENDANCE—MAP ON PAGES 20-21

Delegations came to Bandung from 29 Asian and African nations. Some delegations were large (Japan's had 34 members)



India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, talking to Burma's Prime Minister, U Nu

and others were small (the Gold Coast had only three). Some of the outstanding leaders were as follows:

BURMA: U Nu, 48, Prime Minister since 1947. He is a poet and a student of Buddhism. He and the other

Burmese delegates wore their mauve and yellow silken *longyi* with headdress of a matching color.

CHINA: Chou En-Lai, 57, Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was one of the founders of the Chinese communist army and took part in the famous "long march." A communist since 1922, he led the Chinese delegation to the Geneva Conference in 1954 and also visited India and Burma.

CEYLON: Sir John Kotelawala, 58, Prime Minister since 1953.

EGYPT: Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser, 37, President and Prime Minister. He was a leader of the coup d'etat of 1952 which resulted in the abdication of King Farouk.

GOLD COAST: Kojo Botsio, 39, Minister of State. A striking figure in his yellow woven toga, he studied at Oxford, edited a newspaper in Accra, and was imprisoned by the British in 1950.

INDIA: Jawaharlal Nehru, 65, Prime Minister. Other important members of the delegation were Dr. Sayed Mahmud, Minister of External Affairs, and V. K. Krishna Menon, Head of the Indian delegation to the U. N. Also Mr. Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was present.

INDONESIA: Ali Sastroamidjojo, 52, Prime Minister. He was formerly ambassador to Washington. Ruslan Abdulgani, Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was Secretary-General of the Conference.

IRAQ: Dr. Fadhil Jamali, Permanent Delegate to the U. N. Holder of a Ph. D. degree from Columbia University, he was formerly prime minister.

JAPAN: Tatsunosuke Takasaki, 70, Minister of State. He is an engineer and fisheries expert.

PAKISTAN: Mohammed Ali, 45, Prime Minister. He was formerly ambassador to Washington. He came to Bandung with his new 28-year-old wife, the begum.

PHILIPPINES: Gen. Carlos Romulo, 56, Member of Cabinet and Head of the Philippine Delegation to the U. N. Holder of an M. A. degree from Columbia University, he received a Pulitzer Prize in 1952.

SAUDI ARABIA: Crown Prince Amer Faisal Al Saud, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

THAILAND: Prince Wan Haithayakon Koommun Naradhip Bongsprabandh, 63, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is Oxford-educated and formerly was a history professor.

In addition to delegates, observers came from several countries, some undoubtedly officially invited by one or another of the Colombo powers. North Africa was well represented by spokesmen from Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. Mr. Salah Ben Youssef from Tunisia was made a member of the Iraq delegation. South Africa was represented by three observers from the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress: Moses Kotane, J. A. Cachalia, and E. M. Nagde. They held a press conference and were quartered in the Savoy-Homan Hotel reserved for delegates only. Prophetically, at the opening plenary session, these delegates from North Africa and South Africa were given desk numbers 31 and 32. Two observers were present from Australia, John Burton and Prof. C. P. Fitzgerald. Before the Conference adjourned they issued a statement of friendship. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hadj Amin el Hussein, attended and was made a member of the Yemen delegation. The Archbishop of Cyprus, Makarios, was present to urge the freedom of his island from Britain. Congressman Adam C. Powell from the United States was present, completely in an unofficial capacity, and participated in several press conferences. Numerous observers were at Bandung from neighboring Malaya. A group came from West Irian and wanted their land to be transferred from the Netherlands to Indonesia.

Between six and seven hundred journalists came from perhaps fifty countries. They represented a great variety of media: daily newspapers, weekly magazines, radio, television, and scholarly journals. There were large press delegations from China, Russia, India, and especially the United States, including several reporters from the American Negro press. Some persons with press cards obviously came as observers and some as intelligence officers for various non-participating countries.

OPENING DAY

The Conference officially opened on Monday morning, April 18th, amid much excitement and tension, with huge crowds lining

the streets. Merdeka building was closely guarded and every chair was filled, not only with delegates, journalists, and observers, but with members of the diplomatic corps from Djakarta and leading citizens of Indonesia. President Sukarno of Indonesia made a remarkable opening address entitled, "Let A New Asia and a New Africa Be Born!" Saying his heart was filled with emotion at "this first intercontinental conference of colored peoples in the history of mankind," he asserted that "it is a new departure in the history of the world that leaders of Asian and African peoples can meet together in their own countries to discuss and deliberate upon matters of common concern." He recalled the Conference of the League Against Imperialism held in Belgium three decades previously where "many distinguished delegates who are present here today met each other and found new strength in their fight for independence." Now he declared triumphantly, "Our nations and countries are colonies no more. Now we are free, sovereign, and independent. We are again masters in our own house. We do not need to go to other continents to confer." But President Sukarno warned that "colonialism is not yet dead, so long as vast areas of Asia and Africa are unfree." He suggested that, in addition to "the classic form of colonialism," it has also "its modern dress in the form of economic control, intellectual control, actual physical control by a small but alien community within a nation." Like all Asian-African leaders, he was not content to confine his remarks and interests to the continents or to colonialism. He lashed out against modern war where "the unconventional has become the convention, and who knows what other examples of misguided and diabolical scientific skill have been discovered as a plague on humanity?"

President Sukarno prayed that the Conference would be a success, despite its diversity of religions: Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism; despite its diversity of politics: democracy, monarchism, theocracy, and innumerable variants; despite its diversity of economic doctrine: socialism, capitalism, communism. He asked, "What harm is in diversity, when there is unity in desire?" Even though these countries do have so much in common, he admitted that "we know so little of each other." If the

Conference "succeeds in making the peoples of the East understand each other a little more, appreciate each other a little more, sympathize with each other's problems a little more—then this Conference will have been worthwhile, whatever else it may achieve."

After this splendid speech, the delegates elected another Indonesian, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, as permanent Conference chairman. In his acceptance speech, he tried to define peace. He said peace is not "an uneasy balance of power" or "where one power, more formidable than all others, would be able to dominate the rest of the world." He declared that the prerequisite to genuine peace is the "willingness and determination of living neighborly together, irrespective of each other's political, social or religious ideologies, on the principles of mutual respect for each other's national sovereignty and each other's territorial integrity; abhorrence of aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit." Then he asked, "Who are the unrealistic day-dreamers—is it the believers in the principles just mentioned, or is it those who foster the illusion that stockpiling of atom and hydrogen bombs can bring about peace?" In closing, Dr. Sastroamidjojo reminded all delegates that "the world is following this Conference with great interest and high hopes. With great interest because our gathering together on this large scale is a new and unique phenomenon in history. With high hopes because many, all over the world, expect us to show them a way out of the impasse we find ourselves in today." He finally urged the delegates "to speak the same language, however much our tongues and our ideologies may differ, the language which not only the peoples of Asia and Africa will understand, but which will be understood by the whole world."

A number of greetings were sent to the Conference from all parts of the world. Russian greetings were especially prominent, more so in view of the absence of very many messages from the United States. K. Voroshilov, president of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, cabled: "I greet the participants of the Asian-African Conference which opens today; I express a sincere wish of fruitful work and success in accomplishing the lofty tasks facing the conference." One message of greetings to which Prime

Minister Sastroamidjojo referred in his speech was from a group of fourteen Americans, including several Nobel Prize winners, who said that the "way of Caesar is failing in Moscow and Washington as it has in Rome" and hoped the Conference would "develop independent solutions (and) enunciate the principles of a new society."

OPENING ADDRESSES

Three plenary sessions were reserved for opening addresses by those heads of delegations who cared to do so. Significantly, several powerful leaders—such as Nehru—chose not to make any addresses. Other than preliminary amenities and strong denunciations of colonialism and racism, the opening addresses were characterized by: 1—a strong call for peace by Kotelawala of Ceylon; 2—a strong defense of military pacts by the Philippines, Pakistan, Turkey, and Thailand; and 3—a basically conciliatory speech by China.

Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon gave a remarkable address devoted almost wholly to peace, saying that "the entire human race stands on the brink of chaos, ready at the least miscalculation or lapse of vigilance to plunge forever into the abyss." He felt that "if this danger is to be averted, it is clear that what is wanted is a shift of emphasis, a change of heart, in the methods whereby the statesmen and leaders of today are trying to preserve what remains of world peace. The argument of physical force must yield to the argument of spiritual power." And then he asked, "Of what advantage is it to hold sway over vast territories, to have at one's command innumerable armies, to be able at the touch of a button to unleash the deadliest of weapons science can invent if, with all this, we are unable to rid ourselves of fear and hysteria and despair?" He felt that "where the wisdom of the West has failed," nations of Asia and Africa can succeed because of the "traditional respect for the spiritual values of life and for the dignity of the human personality which is the distinguishing feature of all their great religions." He recalled that "not one country in this whole region manufactures nuclear weapons" and reminded them that we "come to the conference table weak and relatively unarmed, with no thermonuclear bombs in our pockets, no weapons of chemical or bacteriological warfare up our sleeves, no plans for armament factories or blueprints for ever more deadly methods of genocide in our brief

cases." Then he made the striking discovery that there is strength in Asia's and Africa's weakness: "the ability which our very defenselessness confers to offer ourselves as mediators in the dispute between the giants of communism and anti-communism." He said that "we here and now offer formally our services as mediators." An ardent Buddhist, Sir John closed by saying that "whatever religion we profess, we cannot but be at one on the question of peace, for the great teachers of all religions are agreed that it is not through hatred and violence, but through compassion, peace and goodwill that mankind can find salvation."

The chief delegates of the so-called "committed" nations at Bandung had their say. In his opening speech, Gen. Romulo of the Philippines carried the cold war to Bandung: "I don't think we have come to where we are, only to surrender blindly to a new super-barbarism, a new super-imperialism, a new super-power. We do not want leadership in our countries subservient to foreign rulers." Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, said much the same thing: "We must be very careful that we are not misled into opening our doors to a new and more insidious form of imperialism that masquerades in the guise of liberation." Prince Wan of Thailand baldly said that his country "had had clearly to face a threat of infiltration and subversion" by communism. Iraqi leader Dr. Jamali asserted that colonialism, Zionism, and communism are three disturbing forces in the world today. He said, "The peoples of Asia and Africa who have been struggling for decades to achieve their freedom and independence are liable through communist machination to jump from the pan into the fire." He felt that "the world needs first today an ideological disarmament; achieving that we must work on the basis of moral rearmament and physical disarmament." The delegates from Turkey coolly told why the threat of communist aggression forced Turkey to join NATO and why it also brought about the Balkan Pact, the Turkish-Pakistani Treaty of Friendly Collaboration, and the Turkish-Iraqi Pact.

In the midst of this unmasqueraded anti-communism, Chou En-Lai arose. Apparently he had originally planned to distribute a prepared speech and not speak orally. After hearing some of the opening speeches, however, he felt obliged to make some supplementary remarks. The longer mimeographed speech was

a clever document. He traced the history of colonialism in the two continents and said that "the rule of colonialism in this region has not yet come to an end, and new colonialists are attempting to take the place of the old ones." He specifically mentioned the United States here. Then he thundered, "Countries outside of Asia and Africa are establishing more and more military bases in the Asian and African countries. They are clamoring openly that atomic weapons are conventional arms and are making preparations for atomic war. The people of Asia shall never forget that the first atomic bomb exploded on Asian soil and that the first man to die from experimental explosion of a hydrogen bomb was an Asian." He made a direct bid for closer relations between China and Thailand, the Philippines, and other neighboring countries.

In his oral speech, the Chinese prime minister suggested that the Chinese delegation came to Bandung "to seek unity and not to quarrel . . . to seek common ground, not to create divergence." He paraded restraint by saying that China could have placed on the Conference agenda the Taiwan (Formosa) problem or the recognition of the Peoples' Republic in the United Nations, but it refused to do so in an effort to prevent the Conference from being dragged into disputes. Chou En-Lai said that there were differences and he had no apology to make for the fact that 600 million Chinese people have chosen a political system led by the communist party. To the basically Islam, Hindu, Buddhist audience, he admitted that "we communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious belief." Indeed, one member of the Chinese delegation was an Islamic leader. Then he talked about subversive activities and claimed that "it is China that is suffering from the subversive activities which are openly carried on without any disguise by the United States of America." He urged all delegates to come to China and see for themselves, since "we have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smokescreen between us."

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

In a closed plenary session on the opening day, the delegates agreed upon a Conference agenda of five separate headings: economic cooperation, cultural cooperation, human rights and self-determination, problems of dependent peoples, and world

peace and cooperation. It was also agreed that the Conference should work by unanimous agreement, rather than by decisions arrived at by a simple majority or even a two-thirds majority. However, the Conference was free to discuss any matter even if unanimity could not later be reached. Another agreement was to form subcommittees on economic and cultural affairs, but no political committee as such. Instead there would be a series of informal meetings of the heads of delegations. All these were closed sessions and for five solid days the delegates met in the Gedung Dwi Warna building (formerly housing the pension fund), which was toward the outskirts of Bandung. Only the briefest communiques were issued from these closed meetings, but some information was collected by enterprising journalists who buttonholed delegates as they left committee meetings.

The first East-West clash in this all-Eastern conclave came when, during the first meeting of the heads of delegations, Gen. Romulo nominated Prince Wan of Thailand as rapporteur. This was seconded by Dr. Jamali of Iraq, but rejected by Chou En-Lai. Later Chou En-Lai reconsidered and Prince Wan was elected and Ali Sastroamidjojo was made chairman of this important committee.

While the Formosa problem was not on the agenda as such, it loomed large in the whole context of the Conference. On the opening day, Nehru and Chou En-Lai held private talks and India's Krishna Menon had meetings with other delegates and also with Chou En-Lai, presumably on this question. There were persistent reports that there would be a private conference on Formosa with the five Colombo prime ministers, representatives from the three SEATO countries (Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines), and China. However, it was reported that Thailand and the Philippines needed permission from home before they could attend any such meeting, even if informal. In the meantime, Nehru held a dinner parley with Chou En-lai, Mr. Romulo, Prince Wan, Dr. Jamali, and Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

Independently, Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon issued a statement to the press saying that Formosa should be neutralized for five years under a U. N. or Colombo powers trusteeship, that Quemoy and Matsu islands should be evacuated, and that the

U. S. should withdraw her fleet from the coastal waters. In addition, at a meeting of the heads of delegations, Sir John talked of two kinds of colonialisms thus: "If we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?" This brought forth a resolution endorsed by Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Libya, Liberia, the Sudan and the Philippines rejecting all types of colonialism "including international doctrines resorting to methods of force, infiltration and subversion." Mohammed Ali expressed fears of Soviet imperialism, but emphasized that China was not an imperialistic power. India and Burma stressed the need for finding common ground and that no point would be served by waxing critical over the various political systems of different countries. China reiterated her intention of refraining from doctrinaire discussions in the interests of harmonious work in the committee. In the end the only way the deadlock on colonialism could be broken was to adopt the ambiguous clause: "colonialism in all its manifestations."

In an atmosphere of greater cordiality, Nehru told why he opposed the existence of blocs and military pacts. Dr. Jamali replied that Iraq was a small country and had to add strength to itself with a pact with Turkey. Nehru replied that "that attitude leads to an armament race." Then Mr. Romulo explained why the Philippines joined the SEATO pact for self-defense, again because it was a small country, but not for aggression. He said that there were "big nations on which the sun never set and, by the same token, there were small countries on which the sun never rose." Nehru replied that SEATO was behind the times, because the Geneva Conference on Indochina had succeeded in ushering in peace and that any such pacts were "an angry reaction to Geneva." He said that such pacts were not for the welfare of all. Chou En-Lai again gave a conciliatory speech and expressed pleasure that China's name had not been coupled with such expressions as colonialism, imperialism, subversive action, and infiltration. He said that Mohammed Ali of Pakistan had given him assurance that the pact with the United States would not be directed against China. He then gave assurances that he would take peaceful action regarding questions con-

cerning boundary differences and he extended that promise—with the Asian-African Conference as witnesses—to Thailand, the Philippines, Cambodia, and Laos. He invited Prince Wan to go along with him and see for himself how things were along the Thai-Chinese border. A personal visit, Chou En-Lai felt, would give much better results than tens of meetings carried out in an atmosphere of lack of confidence. Chou En-Lai repeated his invitation to Romulo to go along the entire Chinese coast to see if any warlike preparations were going on. How could China attack the Philippines, Chou En-Lai asked, when China has no navy? He concluded by exhorting those present to make a start by bringing peace into the Conference hall. It was during this session that Nehru severely condemned the battle of ideologies and spoke of India's devotion to the principles of Gandhi.

THE CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUE

After five days of closed sessions, and innumerable drafting subcommittees, the final communique was approved after a three-hour delay on the final day and unveiled at the closing plenary session. It follows in full:

FINAL RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

The Asian African Conference convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met in Bandung from the 18th to the 24th April 1955. In addition to the five sponsoring countries the following 24 countries participated in the Conference:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan | 9. Japan | 18. Sudan |
| 2. Cambodia | 10. Jordan | 19. Syria |
| 3. Peoples Republic
of China | 11. Laos | 20. Thailand |
| 4. Egypt | 12. Lebanon | 21. Turkey |
| 5. Ethiopia | 13. Liberia | 22. Democratic
Republic of |
| 6. Gold Coast | 14. Libya | Vietnam |
| 7. Iran | 15. Nepal | 23. State of Vietnam |
| 8. Iraq | 16. Philippines | 24. Yemen |
| | 17. Saudi Arabia | |

The Asian African Conference considered problems of common interest and concern to the countries of Asia and Africa

and discussed ways and means by which their peoples could achieve fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

A. Economic cooperation

1. The Asian-African Conference recognized the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region. There was general desire for economic cooperation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty. The proposals with regard to economic cooperation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for cooperation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital. It was further recognized that the assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region, through international or under bilateral arrangements, had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programmes.

2. The participating countries agreed to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of: experts; trainees; pilot projects and equipment for demonstration purposes; exchange of know-how and establishment of national, and where possible, regional training and research institutes for imparting technical knowledge and skills in cooperation with the existing international agencies.

3. The Asian-African Conference recommended: the early establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development; the allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries; the early establishment of the International Finance Corporation which should include in its activities the undertaking of equity investment; and encouragement to the promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries in so far as this will promote their common interest.

4: The Asian-African Conference recognized the vital need for stabilising commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However, it was recognized that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

5. *The Asian-African Conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilising the international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements, and that as far as practicable and desirable, they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade and other international forums.*

TRADE FAIRS

6. *The Asian-African Conference further recommended that: Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw material, wherever economically feasible, before export; intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for transit trade of landlocked countries.*

7. *The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to Shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates, often to the detriment of participating countries. It recommended a study of this problem, and collective action thereafter, to induce the shipping lines to adopt a more reasonable attitude. It was suggested that a study of railway freight of transit trade may be made.*




8. *The Asian-African Conference agreed that encouragement should be given to the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies.*

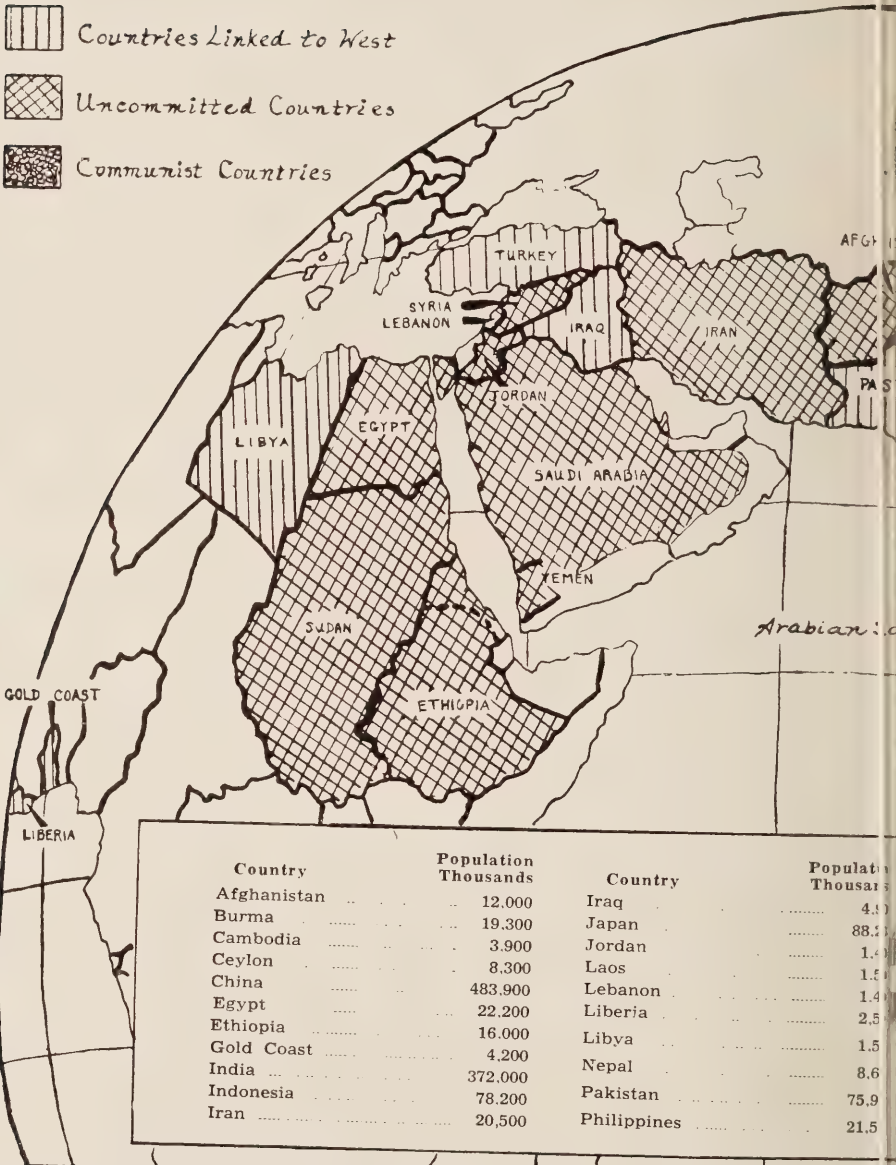
9. *The Asian-African Conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might eventually lead to the formulation of common policies.*

NUCLEAR ENERGY

10. *The Asian-African Conference emphasised the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, for the Asian-African countries. The Conference welcomed the initiative of the Powers principally concerned in*

COUNTRIES REPRESENTED

-  Countries Linked to West
-  Uncommitted Countries
-  Communist Countries

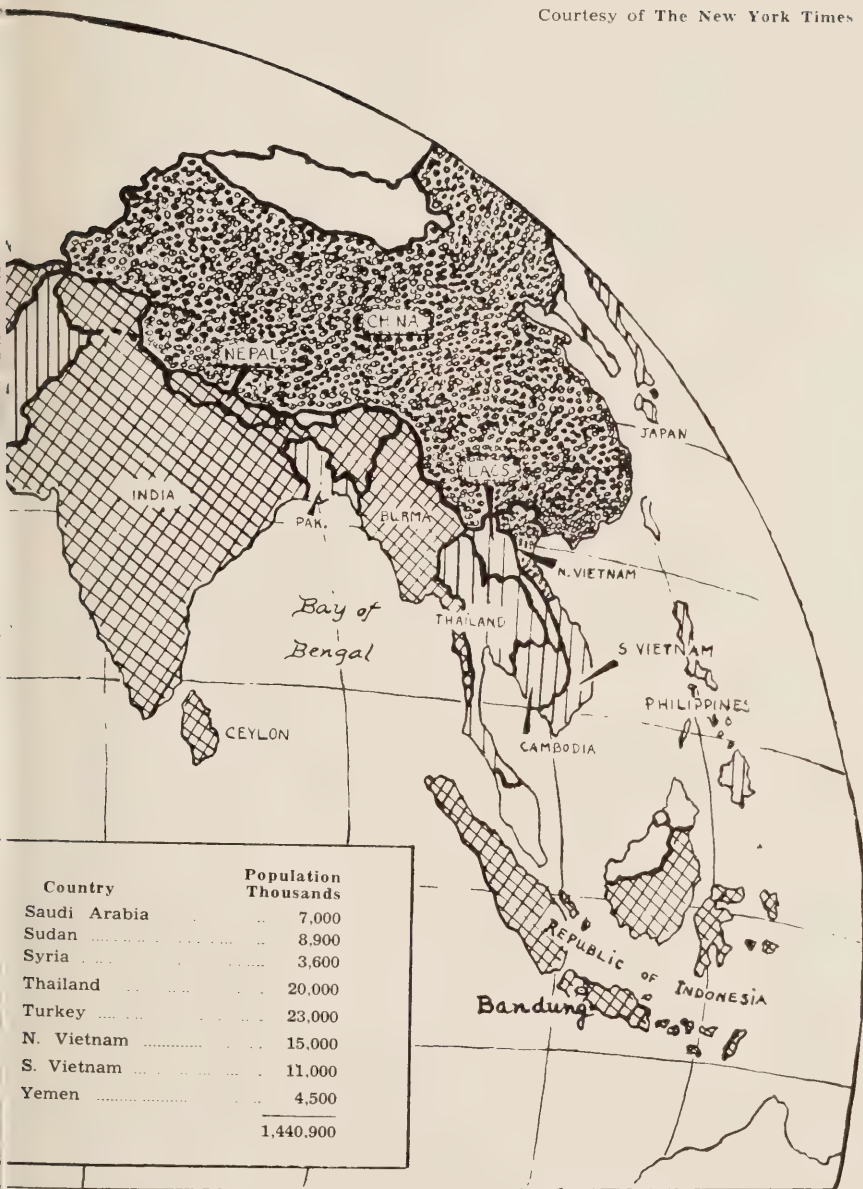


Country	Population Thousands	Country	Population Thousands
Afghanistan	12,000	Iraq	4,100
Burma	19,300	Japan	88,500
Cambodia	3,900	Jordan	1,400
Ceylon	8,300	Laos	1,500
China	483,900	Lebanon	1,400
Egypt	22,200	Liberia	2,500
Ethiopia	16,000	Libya	1,500
Gold Coast	4,200	Nepal	8,600
India	372,000	Pakistan	75,900
Indonesia	78,200	Philippines	21,500
Iran	20,500		

Figures are from 1954 UN Yearbook and the Statesman's Yearbook. More recent estimates at Bandung give a total of 1.6 billion.

D AT CONFERENCE

Courtesy of The New York Times



offering to make available information regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; urged the speedy establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency which should provide for adequate representation of the Asian-African countries on the executive authority of the Agency; and recommended to the Asian and African Governments to take full advantage of the training and other facilities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by the countries sponsoring such programmes.

11. The Asian-African Conference agreed to the appointment of Liaison Officers in participating countries, to be nominated by their respective national Governments, for the exchange of information and ideas on matters of mutual interest. It recommended that fuller use should be made of the existing international organisations, and participating countries who were not members of such international organisations, but were eligible, should secure membership.

12. The Asian-African Conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view, as far as possible, to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is, however, not intended to form a regional bloc.

B. Cultural cooperation

1. The Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural cooperation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilisations which have enriched other cultures and civilisation while themselves being enriched in the process. Thus, the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately, cultural contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries. The peoples of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating governments at the Conference reiterated their determination to work for closer cultural cooperation.

2. The Asian-African Conference took note of the fact that the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa,

in whatever form it may be, not only prevents cultural cooperation but also suppresses the national cultures of the people. Some colonial powers have denied to their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture which hampers the development of their personality, and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples. This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed. Similar discrimination has been practised against African and coloured people in some parts of the Continent of Africa. The Conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural cooperation on the wider international plane. The Conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression. In particular, the Conference condemned racialism as a means of cultural suppression.

NO SENSE ON RIVALRY

3. *It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilisations and cultures that the Conference viewed the development of cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries. True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural cooperation should be developed in the larger context of world cooperation. Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural cooperation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.*

4. *There are many countries in Asia and Africa which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institutions. The Conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa which are more fortunately placed in this respect should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions. Such facilities should also be made available to the Asian and African people*

in Africa to whom opportunities for acquiring higher education are at present denied.

5. *The Asian-African Conference felt that the promotion of cultural cooperation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:*

- (I) the acquisition of knowledge of each others country;*
- (II) mutual cultural exchange, and*
- (III) exchange of information.*

6. *The Asian-African Conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural cooperation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own, wherever possible and feasible.*

C. Human rights and self determination

1. *The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of Human Rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the universal declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.*

The Conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a pre-requisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental Human Rights.

2. *The Asian-African Conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world. Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilisation and the dignity of man.*

The Conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa: applauded all those who sustain their cause: reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peo-

ples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it.

D. Problems of dependent peoples

(1) *The Asian-African Conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation.*

The Conference is agreed:

- (a) in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;*
- (b) in affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation;*
- (c) in declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and*
- (d) in calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.*

(2) *In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.*

E. Other problems

1. *In view of the existing tension in the Middle East, caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.*

2. *The Asian-African Conference, in the context of its expressed attitude on the abolition of colonialism, supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian based on the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands.*

The Asian-African Conference urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations, as soon as possible, to implement their obligations under the above-mentioned agreements and expressed the earnest hope that the United Nations would assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute.

3. *The Asian-African Conference supported the position of Yemen in the case of Aden and the Southern parts of Yemen known as the Protectorates and urged the parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.*

F. Promotion of world peace and cooperation

1. *The Asian-African Conference, taking note of the fact that several States have still not been admitted to the United Nations, considered that for effective cooperation for world peace, membership in the United Nations should be universal, called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those States which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter. In the opinion of the Asian-African Conference, the following among participating countries, viz.: Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, a unified Vietnam, were so qualified.*

The Conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council, in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, was inadequate. It expressed the view that as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, are precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council, so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace, and security.

2. *The Asian-African Conference having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global*

war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments, including nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, would be employed, invited the attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out.

The Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilisation from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction. It considered that the nations of Asia and Africa assembled here have a duty towards humanity and civilisation to proclaim their support for disarmament and for prohibition of these weapons and to appeal to nations principally concerned and to world opinion, to bring about such disarmament and prohibition.

EFFECTIVE CONTROL

The Conference considered that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition and that speedy and determined efforts should be made to this end.

Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, this Conference appealed to all the powers concerned to reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons.

G. Declaration on the promotion of world peace and cooperation

The Asian-African Conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and cooperation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war. The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection, all States should cooperate, especially through the United Nations, in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would help answer the needs particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples, and freedom and

independence must be granted, with the least possible delay, to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

TEN PRINCIPLES

Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors and develop friendly cooperation on the basis of the following principles:

1. *Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.*
2. *Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.*
3. *Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.*
4. *Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.*
5. *Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.*
6. (a) *Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.*
(b) *Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.*
7. *Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.*
8. *Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.*

9. *Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.*

10. *Respect for justice and international obligations.*

The Asian and African Conference declares its conviction that friendly cooperation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, while cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all.

The Asian-African Conference recommended that the five sponsoring countries consider the convening of the next meeting of the Conference in consultation with the participating countries.

Bandung, April 24, 1955

CONFERENCE BY-PRODUCTS

1. FORMOSA. The most important single effort to come directly out of Bandung was Chou En-Lai's offer to negotiate directly with the United States to ease the tension in the Far East. This was not on the Conference agenda—and perhaps that was the reason that so much progress was possible. After a number of private conferences and luncheons, on the last Saturday of the Conference there was a meeting at the residence of Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo. Present were the prime ministers of the Colombo powers and also Mr. Romulo, Prince Wan, and Chou En-Lai. After an Indonesian lunch of chicken *sate* and *soto*, they talked for two hours. There apparently was a free exchange of opinion on the Formosa question. It was agreed that Chou En-Lai would be the only person to issue a statement to the press, since China was the only nation immediately involved. One hour after the luncheon meeting adjourned, Chou En-Lai issued the most significant statement of the entire Bandung Conference: "The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area." This statement immediately caused repercussions in the capitals of the world, with the United States at first rejecting and later accepting the overture as a basis for further negotiations.

2. DUAL NATIONALITY. One of the controversial issues in Southeast Asia is the dual nationality of the millions of Chinese living in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, and elsewhere. Beginning on November 1954 in Peking, China and Indonesia entered into negotiations in an effort to settle this question for the two million Chinese residing in Indonesia. Negotiations were continued in Djarkarta and Bandung in March and April 1955 and on April 22, during the Conference, a treaty was signed between China and Indonesia, by Chou En-Lai and Sunario, Indonesia Minister for Foreign Affairs. The text calls for persons with dual citizenship to choose between the two citizenships on the basis of free will any time before two years after the agreement comes into effect. If Chinese choose to become Indonesian citizens, they shall lose their Chinese citizenship. The treaty urged that those who retain their Chinese citizenship but continue to reside in Indonesia "abide by the laws and customs of the State in which they reside and not to participate in political activities of the country in which they reside."

In signing the treaty, Chou En-Lai said, "I hope the persons of Chinese origin with dual nationality as a result of past history will, after making their choice of nationality in accordance with their own will, strictly abide by the letter and spirit of this Treaty and increase their sense of responsibility towards the country the nationality of which they have chosen." He also said that "it is of great significance that this question is solved during the time of the Asian-African Conference, (being) another good example of solving difficult questions between us Asian and African countries in a spirit of friendly negotiation." This may begin to solve this vexing problem in Indonesia and may be a pattern for the solution of this problem in all of Southeast Asia. However, some groups in Indonesia have already expressed some dissatisfaction with the treaty and Nationalist China announced that China had no right to sign such a treaty and, in any case, it will not recognize its legality.

3. FRIENDSHIP. Asia and Africa are huge continents. Many of the delegates have never met each other, while some—especially the Colombo power foreign ministers—are old friends. The Conference gave delegates an opportunity to live

together, to work together, and to eat together. Friendships made will bear creative fruits in the years and months ahead. Several heads of delegations met beforehand, notably Nehru, Nasser, U Nu, and Chou En-Lai in Rangoon. Others left Indonesia together. Many invitations were extended to delegates to visit other countries. Chou En-Lai issued a blanket invitation for all delegates to visit China and surely some will accept in the months ahead. Several delegates, including Nasser and Chou En-Lai, spent additional days in Djarkarta. Egyptian, Jordanian, and Lebanese delegates visited Japan at the conclusion of the Conference on a goodwill tour. Also Japan expected delegates from Yemen, Iraq, and Liberia. President Sukarno promised to visit Egypt and Sir John Kotelawala publicly promised to visit China. Also during the Conference, a friendship treaty was signed between the kingdom of Afghanistan and the republic of Indonesia.

Friendships were also developed by the African delegates with each other. With communications still undeveloped and common meeting ground in Africa still difficult, some of the delegates from Africa found Asia a better meeting place than many sections of their own continent.

4. **INDONESIAN GAINS.** The Conference did at least two things for Indonesia: it gave the people and the whole country an important psychological lift, and it strengthened the Nationalist party of Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo which must face an election in the autumn of 1955. Among other concomitants of more than three centuries of Dutch colonialism was the feeling inculcated into the Indonesians that they are an incompetent people. It takes even the people of a new, independent country time to gain self-confidence. The successful conduct of the Conference helped give the Indonesians the confidence that they badly need. Also, the hand of the Nationalist party was strengthened as it is about to face an election against the Islamic Masjumi, the socialist, and the communist parties. Since Indonesia is both a new and an unstable government, it may have been that the Colombo prime ministers agreed to Indonesia's being the site of the Conference in an effort to stabilize the country and its present government.

THE MEANING OF BANDUNG

Pundits from all over the world read all kinds of meanings into Bandung before, during, and especially after the Conference. Most agreed that it was historic and unique. All differed on almost everything else. Was Bandung, as *Time* magazine predicted, "a communist road show" or just a "vague, but portentous political communion?" Was Bandung, as *Newsweek* magazine said during the Conference, just "a vast, illumined soapbox where the malcontent of the world could have their say?"

To this observer there were four disappointments growing out of Bandung.

First, no permanent organization or secretariat was established to implement the many proposals and decisions taken at Bandung. Were they mere wishes or would they be reduced to practical action? Nehru, at the onset of the Conference, told the press that he was not keen on establishing a permanent body, and the Colombo powers repeatedly said that Bandung was not conceived to form a new regional power bloc. However, some economic activity will be carried on by new liaison officers appointed by their governments. Other activity will be carried on through new or normal bilateral contacts between the various countries, through normal diplomatic channels, and through their various delegations at the United Nations. Also, a second conference is contemplated—and Egypt has already issued an invitation—and the five Colombo prime ministers have the authority to call one in consultation with the 24 other governments present at Bandung.

Second, some of the presumed unities one had expected were developing in the Middle East and Asia were shown to be premature. The Arab League nations were found to be badly split, partly because of the Turkish-Iraqi Pact. Their only unity was negative—growing out of a common hatred for Israel. Likewise, the unity of the Colombo powers themselves was less than one expected. There was a good degree of unity between India and Burma and perhaps Indonesia, but both Ceylon and Pakistan did not see eye-to-eye with the other Colombo powers on several vital issues.

Third, the delegates from the African countries at Bandung were much the junior partners. No strong African leadership

emerged at Bandung, except Col. Nasser of Egypt, and he is more related to the Middle East than Africa proper. However, as *The Spectator* predicted, Bandung did show the leaders of the two newest nations in Africa, the Gold Coast and the Sudan, how "their seniors are coping or failing to cope with the problems of decolonialization."

Fourth, Israel was not treated fairly by the Conference as a whole. Except for Arab League hatred, Israel would have been invited to attend the Conference as—geographically—an Asian country. Nehru and U Nu, it is reported, would have preferred to have Israel present and to have had the Arab countries criticize her in her presence. Barring this, the Arab countries found emotional unity in denouncing Israel, led by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem who came to Bandung for that purpose. While many delegates in plenary sessions and in private ones made speeches against Israel, it was left to the Grand Mufti at a press conference to say that "Israel is a poisonous dagger pointed to the hearts of the Arabs . . . and the Jews themselves have definite plans against the Arab countries . . . (and) do not deny that they desire to include in their state all the countries between the Nile and the Euphrates." No attempt was made publicly to counteract these and similar statements, although in closed sessions Burma and India softened extreme resolutions put forth by the Arab countries. If, as many leaders of the Conference said, the Asian-African countries can settle their own problems, and must do so, there was no creative effort made at Bandung to try to find a compromise solution for the Israel problem with some justice to both sides.

Fifth, there was a good deal of talk and concern for peace, but no new directions in peacemaking emerged. While it was refreshing that nations with traumatic memories of colonialism and staggering problems of economic progress could see the larger issues of world peace (more than some other nations), only the vaguest new mechanisms of peace were discernable. Only one or two speakers in open sessions talked about the need for U. N. Charter Review and no major suggestions were made in the final Conference communique. No nation, as far as known, lobbied for transforming the U. N. into a limited world government. Indeed, the Conference did not pay much atten-

tion to the U. N. (many of the nations at Bandung were not members), except that the final communique was peppered with mentions of the U. N., showing that that world body was in the delegates' minds more than they were perhaps willing to admit. Likewise, while a good deal of talk was uttered about moral and spiritual values for peace, and while the name of Mahatma Gandhi was alluded to once or twice in open sessions, there was no indication that any group of delegates was urging for Asia and Africa a Gandhian way as such.

WHAT WERE THE REAL GAINS OF BANDUNG?

First, Bandung created a new bloc, a third camp, which encompasses two continents and almost two-thirds of mankind. This is not a smooth-working machine, and may never be. Despite overwhelming diversity of every kind, a unity has been patiently constructed which is breath-taking in its potential. This unity made possible the adoption of unanimous statements on a number of controversial issues. This unity softened the extreme positions of the left and right, of China toward the United States if not the Arab countries toward Israel. This unity is a tribute to the patience of the prime ministers of the Colombo powers and in a sense, to the cooperation of Chou En-Lai. The Conference was a successful "experiment in co-existence."

This unity, however, covers a diversity which is real and mature. Many of the countries represented at Bandung have come of age fast and now each has its own interests and its own perspectives. Perhaps once a Westerner could say with some justification that Mr. Nehru was a spokesman for Asia. Some have wanted to dim Nehru's star and at Bandung other strong lights in the Eastern heavens were visible. However, India's and Nehru's leadership diminished only as other nations and other leaders have grown strong. Not only India or China, but also Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and other countries speak for Asia. To Nehru goes the tribute for having kept Asia together under most desperate conditions.

Second, this new unity produced the equivalent of a non-aggression pact between China and all of her neighbors. It was not signed and sealed, but the ten-point statement of

"friendly cooperation" (a politic euphemism for peaceful co-existence) amounts to such a pact, plus the unambiguous assurances on this score publicly and privately from Chou En-Lai. For one continent fearing the continued spread of communism and for another continent on the threshold of great revolutionary changes, this pledge is important—if it is sincere and lasting.

Third, Bandung will force the United States to re-examine her whole attitude and policies toward Asia and Africa. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was forced to revise his own attitude toward Bandung repeatedly and President Eisenhower felt called upon to unveil his new Asian aid program during the Bandung Conference, a program including \$200 million to be used as a president's fund for Asian economic development. A completely new American policy toward Asia may well develop and perhaps the President will find it necessary to visit Asia to see for himself where our present policies are leading. The Asia of America can no longer be the Asia of Chiang Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee, and Bao Dai. Americans at Bandung found that the Conference was not nearly as anti-American as many expected. There is still an unbelievably large reservoir of goodwill toward the people and government of the United States, even in the so-called uncommitted countries. In his closing speech, Nehru went out of his way to send greetings to the United States.

Fourth, Bandung will lead to the economic strengthening of many of its member nations. This will take time and new sources of capital. Also Japan will strengthen her trade ties with Asia and Africa, even with lands she overran during World War II. As U Nu said in a closing speech, "We must all develop our own internal strength before we can have more effect in running our planet."

Fifth, Bandung will lead to closer cultural ties between many of the member nations. Already the bonds of religion have been tightened. Where countries have been thwarted culturally because of colonialism, in their new freedom they will emphasize their national arts and customs, and exchange these with other newly-emerging old cultures.

Sixth, Bandung will aid the dependent peoples of the world generally by weakening whatever moral justification remains

for colonialism. The strong statements made at Bandung against France in behalf of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria; against the Netherlands in behalf of West Irian; against South Africa in behalf of the Africans, Pakistanis, and Indians; and against the powers holding Aden and the protectorates— these will all bear fruit. Still-colonial areas, such as Tunisia and Morocco, which sent strong but informal delegations to Bandung will probably be represented by official delegates at the second Asian-African Conference.

Seventh, Bandung saw the emergence of China as a great Asian power and not merely as an isolated partner of Russia. It is too early to predict if the Conference was helpful in wooing China away from Russia, but the Conference gave China added prestige and an added arena of action. Chou En-Lai departed himself exceedingly well at Bandung—calm, poised, candid when necessary, but never contentious, and always conciliatory. This demeanor of China will be worth watching.

Eighth, Bandung will mean the eventual neutralization of such committed powers as Thailand and the Philippines. Seven hours after Bandung adjourned, the SEATO powers met in Bangkok to plan joint military forces. Yet Thailand and the Philippines may well be drawn toward Asia and away from their friends in America and Europe if they feel that their territorial integrity will be respected. There was a report that the president of the Philippines was asked by the leader of his delegation to Bandung to forego a trip to America in order to visit some of the neighboring Asian countries and meet their leaders first!

Ninth, Bandung showed that the colored peoples of the world need not be as racist as their fellow whites. There was some fear that this "colored United Nations" would be a field day for anti-white sentiment, that it would be the beginning of an upsurge of racial hatred for the West. Prime-Minister Sastroamidjojo after Bogor said that the Conference "positively is not an international solidarity of the 'non-white races' against the 'white races'." Events proved him correct. Indeed, the final communique contained the pledge to "eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in the struggle to eradicate it." During

the Conference, Prime Minister Johannes G. Strijdom of the Union of South Africa is reported to have said, "The real purpose of the Bandung Conference is to eliminate white influence from Asia." The Conference did try to eliminate certain influences, but not because they were white.

Tenth, Bandung showed that communism in Asia and Africa is by no means inevitable. It may have been a sounding board for communist China, but this country by no means stole the show. If some of the Asian leaders feel that they must live with and work with communist China as a large and important neighbor, many of the Conference leaders, including some of the Colombo powers, gave real evidence that they have no illusions about communism, be it Chinese or Russian.

Bandung made world peace more possible. It gained time. It formed a moral if not a military wedge between the two great giants—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Bandung was at least five hundred years in the making. Not by arms, but by moral persuasion nourished by the world's great religions will this third force help keep the peace the world so desperately desires. Bandung somehow caught the world's imagination and early its leaders were conscious that history was looking over their shoulder, but only time will tell if history will remember them. Bandung may just be the hinge of history.



Dr. Homer A. Jack attended the Asian-African conference as a journalist and as an observer for the International League of the Rights of Man.

Minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston, Illinois, Dr. Jack has long been active in the field of race relations and international affairs. He is a board member of **Toward Freedom** and the American Committee on Africa and is a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Association for the United Nations, and the United World Federalists. His articles on race relations, civil liberties, religious social action, and Africa have appeared in **The Christian Century**, **The Pittsburgh Courier**, **The Saturday Review**, **The Progressive**, **Crisis**, and many other periodicals. He has edited two anthologies: "The Wit and Wisdom of Gandhi" (Beacon Press, 1951) and "To Dr. Albert Schweitzer: A Festschrift Commemorating His 80th Birthday" (1955).

During 1955-56, Dr. Jack will be available for a limited number of speaking engagements on the Asian-African Conference and on his observations in Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, and India.

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